

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : SAC (157-1423)

DATE: 10/2/68

FROM : SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE

SUBJECT: BLACK UNITED FRONT (BUF), aka.  
RM

On 9/11/68 ME 338-R(Ghetto) orally advised SA WILLIAM H. LAWRENCE that at the Black United Front (BUF) meeting held at Clayborn Temple, 280 Hernando, on the night of 9/10/68, about 200 to 250 persons were present. The meeting was dominated by Black Organizing Project (BOP) and its cell, the Invaders. Key Invaders there were as follows:

1 - 157-1423 (BUF)  
1 - 170-70 Sub (ME 338-R(Ghetto))  
1 - 157-1067 (BOP)  
1 - 157-556 (Possible Racial Violence, Major Urban Areas)  
1 - 157-1312 (Black Knights)  
1 - 157-NEW (TIGER, Tennesseans Interested in Equal Rights)  
① - 157-166 (SCLC) *encs. 2*  
1 - 157-957 (JOHN B. SMITH) 1 - 100-4579 (CALVIN L. TAYLOR)  
1 - 100-4528 (CHARLES L. CABBAGE) FOIA(b) 7 - (D)  
1 - 170-1024 (CHARLES BALLARD) 1 - 157-1205 (Black Panther Party)  
1 - 157-1258 (LANCE WATSON, aka.) 1 - 157- (MELVIN SMITH)  
1 - 157-1019 (CHARLES HARRINGTON) 1 - 157- (JOHN GARY WILLIAMS)  
1 - 157-1116 (VERDELL BROOKS) 1 - 157- (JOHN W. WHITE)  
1 - 157-1173 (OREE MC KENZIE) 1 - 157-1372 (JEWELL DAVIS)  
1 - 157- (NEWBURN ROOKS) 1 - 157-1365 (IDA BALLARD)  
1 - 157-1277 (EMMETT HOUSE) 1 - 157-1133 (CEDRIC MOORE)  
1 - 157- (FNU TATE, son of ELLIS TATE)  
1 - 157-1125 (JOHN HENRY FERGUSON) 1 - 157-1275 (ERIC HOLMAN)  
1 - 157- (REGINALD FERGUSON) 1 - 157-1061 (LARRY LARUE DAVIS)  
1 - 157-1349 (WILLIE "SCOOP" ROGERS) 1 - 157-1467 (JUANITA TENSLEY)  
1 - 157-1000 (JAMES E. PHILLIPS) 1 - 157-1468 ('RED' TENSLEY)  
1 - 157-1341 (ISSAC HAYES)  
1 - 157-1292 (WARREN LEWIS) WHL:gmh  
1 - 157- (MARION COLLINS) (41)  
1 - 157- (WINSTON BENNETT)  
1 - 157-1398 (CHRIS A. TURNER)  
1 - 157-953 (BOBBY DOCTOR)  
1 - (Tennessee Council on Human Relations)

157-166-5625

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 7 1968	
FBI - MEMPHIS	

stripped  
2-3-70  
X

JOHN B. SMITH  
CHARLES L. CABBAGE  
CHARLES BALLARD  
LANCE WATSON, aka "Sweet Willie Wine"  
CHARLES HARRINGTON  
VERDELL BROOKS  
ORIE MCKENZIE  
NEWBURN ROOKS  
EMMETT HOUSE  
MARRELL McCULLOUGH  
(FNU) TATE (who lives at the Lorraine Hotel)  
JOHN H. FERGUSON and brother  
REGINALD FERGUSON  
WILLIE "SCOOP" ROGERS  
JAMES E. PHILLIPS

Also present were a lot of the Invaders girls.

Several Black Knights were present, including the following:

ISAAC HAYES  
WAYNE or WINSTON BENNETT, the Black Knights treasurer  
WARREN LEWIS, Black Knights Chairman  
MARVIN COLLINS  
CHRIS A. TURNER

BOBBY DOCTOR of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission Office was there. FRANK LAMONDUE, male Negro, Deputy U. S. Marshal, came, and the Invaders "hooted" him and he left. He acted silly and tried to tell them he was with the Afro-American Police Officers Association.

One or two Negro school principals were there, including GEORGE COX of Walker School; Negro Attorney GEORGE BROWN, associate of Attorney H. A. LATTING, was there. Some of the "Young Turk" SCLC people were there. One FNU SUTTON of the SCLC who is small in build, drives a black Chevrolet Camaro, and who went to Memphis State University (MSU) for two years, claimed to have knowledge of the New York teachers strike. People were there from WOMEN, Unity League, and one woman claiming to be from the NAACP. WOMEN people included Mrs. RONALD CATRON and one woman whose maiden name was HUBBARD.

The first speaker was LANCE WATSON ("Sweet Willie Wine") who spoke of the need for BUF and said the United States is spending billions in Vietnam and none for the poor blacks in the United States. He said money spent on napalm should be spent for the poor blacks in the United States. He bragged the liquor store at Trigg and Florida was too close to a church and the Invaders put it out of business.

ISAAC HAYES of the Black Knights spoke. He was extremely militant, warned all present not to take notes, and allowed no pictures taken. He cursed the white power structure claiming it was keeping blacks in slavery. He mimicked the white man, Santa Claus, and Tarzan as symbols of the white race. He said the whites did nothing for blacks until a few brave blacks used Molotov cocktails and broke a few windows. He said this is the only way to fight "Whitey." He said "We have to hurt WHITEY where it hurts, in his pocketbook -- have to get control of the dollar." HAYES introduced Black Knights Treasurer WINSTON or WAYNE BENNETT.

Later he said the Black Knights had been visiting black churches, seeking support but too many ministers and deacons were afraid of them. BENNETT said the Negroes working at Firestone feel they are being discriminated against and many of them are Black Knights. They plan a big boycott of Firestone retail stores. He said Firestone has no black guards at the gates, no Negroes in the personnel office, no Negroes in skilled jobs and also he claimed blacks are kept in menial jobs, have prejudiced white supervisors, and segregated rest rooms and cafeterias. He said a Federal man from Birmingham looked into the complaints and said it would take 16 to 18 months to correct it. He said there was no alternative to a boycott of Firestone stores and stores selling Firestone products.

(FNU) SUTTON, claiming to be a representative of SCLC, told the audience that Atlanta Headquarters of SCLC would use its "Operation Breadbasket" program to help the boycott.

JOHN B. SMITH spoke, and stated all Invaders were ready to go to jail, if necessary, as many times as necessary, provided they can be bonded. He claimed the Memphis Police Department illegally raided his apartment on 8/2/68 and said if the guns had been found the Police Department would have killed the Invaders. He said the recent arrests of JOHN FERGUSON, OREE MC KENZIE, JOHN B. SMITH were intimidation. He said it is up to other black groups to support them. SMITH added, "All must realize there's a violent revolution in this country, black versus white."

The guards would not let white male BAXTON BRYANT, Executive Secretary of the Tennessee Council of Human Relations, into the meeting; in fact, they got mad at some black girls who put their arms around BRYANT.

No official representatives were there from COME or NAACP.

WINE or BALLARD claimed black history is not being taught in public schools, especially revolutionary history.

CABBAGE and BALLARD did not talk.

No moderates talked.

GEORGE R. HUNT, Carver Junior High art teacher, and Carver Assistant Basketball Coach (FNU) BYRD, were there, as was one FNU JOHNSON, Principal of Lester Elementary School.

SUTTON of SCLC nominated JOHN B. SMITH as temporary Chairman but it was tabled.

CALVIN TAYLOR, "Commercial Appeal" reporter and Invaders sympathizer, was there.

CABBAGE said EDWINA HARRELL is quiet and subdued since her two recent arrests and is back living with her parents.

Informant furnished literature distributed at the meeting entitled "Black United Front, Where We Go From Here," and "Statement of Purpose for the Black Organizing Project's Request of Curriculum Changes." Xerox copies of this are being attached to copies of instant memorandum for 157-1423 (BUF), 157-1067 (BOP), 157-1205 (Black Panthers), 157-1258 (LANCE WATSON), 157-957 (JOHN B. SMITH), 170-1024 (CHARLES BALLARD), 157-1312 (Black Knights), 157-166 (SCLC), and 100-4528 (CHARLES CABBAGE).

ME 157-1423

On 9/11/68 [redacted] corroborated in detail all of the above information and also furnished copies of the above-described documents. He added the following additional information:

He said BUF is demanding an Afro-American Teachers Union. He recalled that WILLIE WINE said if all black groups would back the Invaders, the Invaders would not have to shoot and burn as they have been doing. He said ISAAC HAYES said "BUF" would "run Memphis" and they will not let any black ministers come in and take over as they had done in COME.

[redacted] added that CHRIS A. TURNER, male Negro, announcer for WDIA and recently a Black Knight, spoke. He said he represented a new group called TIGER, which he said is a violent group. He said the police have threatened him but this did not scare him. He said the police took his "young America Speaks" program from him, with the cooperation of WDIA Manager BERT FERGUSON and said FERGUSON got mad after he had the Invaders on his program. He said, "Don't let BERT FERGUSON fool you; that he is probably a GEORGE WALLACE supporter." TURNER claimed FERGUSON claimed TURNER's life had been threatened and this was why his program was being taken off. TURNER said he was going to become more militant. One woman in the audience said blacks should boycott WDIA.

One woman from WOMEN said some school children in Marks, Mississippi, had been arrested. She wanted financial donations for them. The Invaders said they needed money (meaning the Invaders); she said SCLC would help them.

CABBAGE also spoke, explaining BUF would unite the entire black community. He wanted to set up officers. They badly need a meeting place and want to get a permanent building, CABBAGE and JOHN B. SMITH urged all to go to Carver High School at 3:30 p.m., 9/11/68, to pull all black students out of school in defiance of Principal R. B. THOMPSON. They said THOMPSON is not only one at fault as some of the teachers are the ones who take the kids to the office, SMITH said if Carver burns, BUF or BOP or the Invaders will be blamed.

[redacted] added that Invaders passed out application blanks at the meeting.

ME 157-1423

In addition to those present, identified by  
ME 338 set out above, [redacted] added the following were there:

VERDELL BROOKS  
CHARLES HARRINGTON  
MELVIN SMITH  
RICHARD CABBAGE  
JOHN GARY WILLIAMS  
JEWELL DAVIS  
IDA BALLARD

[redacted]  
FOIA(b) (6)  
FOIA(b) (7) - (C)

[redacted]  
After the meeting IDA BALLARD left with GEORGE R.  
HUNT.

JOHN W. WHITE, the Arkansas teacher and close friend of CABBAGE, was there. He came late and has a mustache and goatee, is 5 feet 9 inches tall, weighs 165-170 pounds, and has a light complexion.

GEORGE or BISHOP TROTTER of SCLC was there, WINE's girl friend, name not known, took notes. HUNT also took notes.

Another SCLC person called "Brother" CEDRIC MOORE was there. He is dark-complexioned, wears dark glasses, is 5 feet 8 inches tall, weighs 135-140 pounds, is 24-25 years, and has promised help from SCLC in Atlanta.

ME 157-1423

[redacted] added that on Monday night, September 9, 1968, a smaller BUF meeting was held at Clayborn. They called for an Afro-American Teachers Union and asked that all students and teachers join BUF.

JAMES E. PHILLIPS, LANCE WATSON, and JOHN B. SMITH did most of the talking. They all talked along the theme that the BUF and Invaders have to get police and black "Uncle Toms" and need to get rid of the rundown buildings by burning if necessary.

Among those present were the following:

JOHN B. SMITH  
LANCE WATSON, aka "Willie Wine"  
JAMES E. PHILLIPS  
OREE MC KENZIE  
VERDELL BROOKS  
ERIC HOLMAN  
CHARLES HARRINGTON  
CHARLES BALLARD  
MELVIN SMITH  
JOHN HENRY FERGUSON  
REGINALD FERGUSON  
MARRELL MC COLLOUGH  
LARRY LARUE DAVIS  
JEWELL DAVIS  
RED TENSLEY and sister, JUANITA "WINKIE" TENSLEY

[redacted]

Carver teacher GEORGE R. HUNT and THOMAS VANN and a teacher named MALONE were there.

Later on 9/12/68 [redacted] said that no one showed up at Carver High on 9/12/68.

FOIA(b)(6)  
FOIA(b)(7) - (C)

## BLACK UNITED FRONT

### WHERE WE GO FROM HERE

#### I. Education (The establishment of an independent educational base)

We want the education of Black people to be under the exclusive control of the Black communities. The entire educational process of Black people shall be administered by the Black School Board composed of Black people living in the particular areas and placed in their position by majority rule vote, and not by appointment. Our education must be relevant to the needs of our people and meets the political, social, and economic demands of the particular area, neighborhood and community.

We want all inclusive Black Curriculum established on all levels of community education primary, secondary, and college level--- from Black History through present day Black Community Politics

#### II Finances (The establishment of an independent financial base)

We want all businesses operating within our communities to take active roles in the maintenance of the community.

Those businesses and corporations involved in taking finances out of the Black Community and using it to develop other communities and areas must now re-distribute their financial profits within the community in which they are located.

The establishment of a "Ghetto Tax": a percentage of profits of existing corporations which will be redistributed and re-invested within the community. The Black Community shall not continue to be a colony existing solely for exploitation by white businessmen "rulers" for the benefit of the white community. We can no longer allow a neo-colonialistic system to live off the work and efforts of oppressed Black people.

Black businessmen, profiteers, and capitalist must begin to make concrete contribution to the struggle toward liberation being

directed by their local community areas. All businesses in the Black community must be owned, operated, and controlled by Blacks.

#### III. Defense and Protection

The violent reaction to the liberation struggle of Black people.

by white racist and brainwashed Black policeman. These are occupying troops and must be removed from our communities and replaced by the Black communities own police. We no longer need other (white) groups to police us. This we must do ourselves. The police of our communities must be a part of or inhabitants of the same Black community.

#### IV. New Politics

We must establish a Black United Front whose main function will be the actual co-ordination and implementation of all Black community politics, from the politics of liberation to Black Community government.

with newly formed, youth led, political organizations. We shall attempt to align with any other groups or parties operating for the relief of oppression and freedom of all black people.

The fostering of as many local community organizations as necessary to allow more community involvement and development of more community leadership.

#### V. Land--Property Housing

We demand full ownership and possession of the land which we live. A peoples freedom is based upon the land upon which they live. In order to relieve ourselves of the colonialistic status in which we live we must no longer pay rent or buy land from whites; land which should be free for all men to live upon.

Until we can gain full ownership of the land upon which we live, we must demand full and equal employment opportunities. We must demand decent shelter and clothing for all Black people. Until we have our own land or nation, all Black men must refuse to participate in the United States Armed Forces. We can no longer be used as slaughter troops, to kill or to be killed by this racist, exploitative, imperialistic government to secure its immense wealth and so called "freedom" and "democracy" without having all the basic rights of a truly free people.

#### VI. End of Poverty

The War On Poverty Agencies must be redirected and put into the hands of the people for whom they are designed. These Agencies must have poor Black people in positions to determine how the needs in their communities must be met. Local anti-poverty organizations, operated on a neighborhood basis, under local leadership can have the type of success necessary to end starvation, disease, and crippling sickness existing within our communities.

#### VII. Freedom and Justice Now

We demand the release of all Black prisoners held in city, county, state, and federal penal institutions. We as Black people cannot be held guilty of violations of laws which we have had no voice in making. No white racist court system is in a position to try and judge guilty any members of the Black community. Black people can only be tried by Black people, and the only laws which bind us are the laws made by us. We owe loyalty only to our own Nation. Our freedom is our most prized possession, and our Nation is the basis of that freedom.

#### VIII. We must gain our Liberation through any means at our disposal.

THE BLACK UNITED FRONT

Coordination and implementation of the Black Community, govern and protest activities to insure more victories and involve the entire community in decision making.

## BLACK FRONT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Inclusive of all groups operating within The Black Community.

### PARTICIPANTS

Black Organizing Project, Inc.  
Black Knights, Inc.  
Black Community Civic Clubs  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference  
Women On The Move To Equality Now  
National Association For Advancement of Colored People  
Afro American Teachers Union  
Memphis Mobilization Contingent  
Black Student Union  
Black Student Alliance  
Black Community Organizations

### ISSUES

#### 1. Education

- A. Curriculum change
  - 1. High (Secondary) Schools
  - 2. Black Colleges
  - 3. Black Instructors

#### 2. Employment

- A. Black Management and Ownership
- B. Ghetto Development Project

#### 3. Housing

- A. Government sponsored housing projects (Frayser T. P.)
- B. Privately sponsored housing projects

#### 4. Food

#### 5. Black Community Coordination

- A. Communication
  - 1. Radio
  - 2. Television (Press Secretary, Gerald Fanion)
  - 3. Newspapers
    - Press Scimitar
    - Tri-State Defender--Sengstack
    - Memphis World
    - Black Organ (Liberator)

#### 6. Poverty

- A. Neighborhood anti-poverty centers
  - Black Community Anti-Poverty Crusade
  - Black Community Control of W. O. P. C.

#### 7. Justice, Freedom, and Liberation

- A. Creation of a New System of Justice

#### 8. Black Administration Building, City Hall

- A. Black House
  - 1. Operation of All Buf Community Services
    - a. building
    - b. equipment
    - c. staff
    - d. office space

#### 9. Black Anti-War-Anti-Draft Union

- 10. Development of Black Business Enterprises
  - A. Food distribution and storage
  - B. Insurance

BLACK UNITED FRONT

EDUCATIONAL CURRICULUM CHANGE--STUDENT INVOLVEMENT--INSTRUCTOR  
PARTICIPATION--BLACK COMMUNITY CONTROL OF EDUCATION

AFRO-AMERICAN TEACHERS UNION

BLACK STUDENT UNION

BLACK STUDENT ALLIANCE

BLACK COMMUNITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

BLACK COMMUNITY COORDINATION--EMPLOYMENT--BLACK MANAGEMENT--BLACK  
OWNERSHIP--BLACK CONTROL

BOYCOTT OF BUSINESSES  
AND COOPERATIONS STRIKE  
FOR JOBS AND ALL FORMS  
OF PROTEST.

GHETTO DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

DISTRIBUTION

OWNERSHIP

MANAGEMENT

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE FOR  
THE BLACK ORGANIZING PROJECT'S  
REQUEST OF CURRICULUM CHANGES

Education as a force can only survive in an energetic environment in which students feel involved and committed to the serious and purposeful effort of postulation and solving meaningful and relevant problems. A viable University program must at all times contain and reflect the realities of the present; it must as well contain and reflect and project the possibilities of the future. A current review of the educational environment at this present University reveals drastic and critical areas of failure in this regard. One positive and essential move open to the administration is to begin to undertake curriculum change based on the principles of more social environment of students, faculty and the school and the surrounding community and in the world at large; more freedom of choice of courses and more student participation in development of new program courses.

Further, we see our situation here as Black students caused to question the whole concept of education, its methods and purpose, thus questioning simultaneously the nature of the world we are to inhabit and our place in that world. It is now long past the time when this institution should have began to address itself to the situation of the world largely non-western and certainly, mostly non-white. We here witnessing a vast mental fossilization in terms of our own temporary situation as Black people with ever-deepening Black consciousnesses. Indeed, our very existence here in this institution has always been an incepid demands for more Black alternatives.

In this light, we deem it imperative that a community representative of BOP's membership meet with administrative personnel, department, chairman and individual teachers for the purpose of a thoroughgoing curriculum in the direction of a more relevant education. We see no reason why all of our most urgent requests may not be reasonably implemented within the coming year. We would again, however, like to impress upon you the urgency of these request. There are issues involved here which go beyond any temporary academic unrest and which may not be answered by a fury of promises and tokenism. These issues are to be met only with a more meaningful education for all.

## Curriculum Course Changes

### Definite Courses

#### A. Anthropology

#### B. Art

1. African Art; Course
2. History and influence of Afro-American Art, integrated into syllabus
3. Black Artist teaching courses

#### C. Communications

The Afro-American News Media, Course suggest it be a night seminar

from pamphleteers to present Negro publications

#### D. Economics

Slavery and Capitalism in America-suggest-undergrad level; night

#### E. Education

1. Practice teaching in the Inner City Public Schools. (rather than in  
Montgomery and/or Prince Georges County Schools exclusively)

2. Afro-American history taught to prospective schoolteachers suggest  
Afro-American history be required course for Education Majors

#### F. English

1. Afro-American Literature -Course

2. African Literature -Course

3. Intergration of Black Poetry, its history, development, and poet in  
existing courses

a. American literature

b. Poetry Course

c. World Literature

4. Expand Freshmen reading list to include Black literature on syllabus

#### G. History

1. Afro-American History -Course-suggest undergraduate course level

2. African History -Course level -suggest undergraduate level

#### H. Music

1. Contemporary Black Music which includes:

a. Gospel

b. Rhythm and Blues

c. New Thing Jazz

2. Jazz course taught by a knowledgeable Black musician

#### I. Philosophy and Religion

1. Bantu Philosophy

#### J. Sociology

1. History of the Afro-American church as a Social Phenomenon

2. Sociology of the Afro-American

3. Sociology of the Black Community

a. Middle class

b. Ghetto-psychology of statistics  
(suggest this be a full year course)

#### K. Speech Arts

1. Introduction to Black Theatre

a. Black Drama

b. Black Comedy

(suggest this be intergrated into syllabus)

#### II. School of Government and Public Administration

A. History of Black Political Revolution (worldwide)

B. Politics of Urban Washington

( suggest a seminar using public officials and personalities  
as resources)

#### III. Center of Liberal Studies

A. Black personality for artist in residence

#### IV. Miscellaneous

A. Establishment of permanent Student-Faculty Administration

B. Curriculum Evaluation 60% + 40%